

Message Text

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15

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INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRIS

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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 4369

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PROP, CH

SUBJ: PEKING'S CRITICISM CAMPAIGN: THE NEXT STAGE

REF: HONG KONG 3978, HONG KONG 3736

SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION: WHILE THERE ARE STILL CONSIDERABLE
UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT HOW THE POLITBURO DECISIONS TO ELEVATE
HUA KUO-FENG AND TO DISMISS TENG HSIAO-PING WERE REACHED,
MORE THAN JUST THE NORMAL COMPROMISE OR BALANCING OF CENTER
INTEREST GROUPS MAY HAVE OCCURRED. WHAT HAD ALL ALONG AP-
PEARED AS AN ATTEMPT BY THE IDEOLOGUES AT THE CENTER TO
SACK TENG AND TO BRING HIS PRAGMATIC POLICIES INTO DIS-
GRACE, AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF APRIL 7, APPEARS TO HAVE
BECOME A RALLYING TOGETHER OF THE NATION'S LEADING TRADI-
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TIONAL POWERHOLDERS IN PARTY AND STATE POSITIONS WITH THE

FIRM BACKING AND PRESENCE OF THE PLA. FROM THIS POSITION, ALTHOUGH FACTIONAL LOYALTIES AND POLICY ISSUES STILL DIVIDE THEM, WE SUSPECT THE PREVAILING LEADERSHIP WILL NOW MOVE TO CURTAIL CAMPAIGNING AGAINST SPECIFIC TARGETS AND TO EMPHASIZE STUDY AND PRODUCTION. THE INHERENT INSTABILITY OF A DIVIDED LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER, WILL CONTINUE TO PLAGUE EFFORTS TO MOVE CHINA ON A STEADY COURSE AND WRENCHES ARE LIKELY STILL TO OCCUR. END SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION

1. AFTER THE POLITBURO DECISIONS THE CURRENT WAVE OF EUPHORIA AND SUPPORT FOR THE POLITBURO'S DECISIONS, LIKE ALL OTHER MASS RALLIES IN CHINA, IS BEING CONDUCTED UNDER STRICT INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE TOP. THE RESTRICTIONS WHICH HERETOFORE HAD HEMMED IN THE CONDUCT OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG--NO EXPERIENCE EXCHANGE, NO FIGHTING GROUPS, NO "MOUNTAIN TOPISM"--CONTINUE TO BE THE WATCHWORDS FOR THE CURRENT "CELEBRATIONS" AND FOR THE FUTURE CONDUCT OF "DEEPENING" THE STRUGGLE. IN THIS REGARD, THE MEDIA REFERENCES TO MILITARY WATCHFULNESS AT THIS TIME SEEM PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT.

2. CALLS FOR CONTINUING OR DEEPENING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TENG AND THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST PROGRAM WHICH HE ADVOCATED DO NOT APPEAR DESIGNED TO TARGET OTHER INDIVIDUALS, DESPITE THE APRIL 15 NCNA COMMENT THAT SOME REHABILITATED CULTURAL REVOLUTION VICTIMS ARE THEMSELVES STILL ON THE CAPITALIST ROAD. (GIVEN THE NATURE OF MAO'S CLASS STRUGGLE DICTUM, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO SAY OTHERWISE.) FOR TENG, HOWEVER, THE CASE MAY NOT BE QUITE SO CLEAR. MEDIA STATEMENTS HAVE POINTEDLY OMITTED REFERENCE TO TENG'S CONTINUED PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND THE EXAMINATION OF HIS FUTURE BEHAVIOR (HK 4099). ON THE OTHER HAND, NCNA HAS ALSO MADE THE CLEAR DISTINCTION THAT TENG IS A BOURGEOIS DEMOCRAT WHO HAS FAILED TO ADVANCE MENTALLY WITH THE REVOLUTION, SEPARATING HIM FROM "RENEGADES" AND "ENEMY AGENTS", PRESUMABLY OF THE LIN PIAO, LIU HSIAO-CHI TYPE.

3. FUTURE CAMPAIGNING: THE STRUGGLE, AS IT APPLIES TO OTHERS, APPEARS TO HAVE LITTLE IMPLIED THREAT REMAINING. WE WOULD EXPECT, THEREFORE, THAT THE REGIME'S LEADERS, IN ADDITION TO PUTTING THEIR LINEUP IN ORDER, WILL ATTEMPT TO RE-DIRECT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FOCUS OF THE CAMPAIGNING AND TO CHANNEL IT INTO CONSTRUCTIVE WORK. PRESUMABLY AN EDITORIAL WILL BE THE VEHICLE OF ANNOUNCEMENT. WE SUSPECT THAT THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE TURNED FIRST TO STUDY, WITH CHAIRMAN MAO'S "RECENT INSTRUCTIONS" AND HIS CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE CONTINUING WAR AGAINST REVISIONISM SHARING EQUAL BILLINGS.

4. THE EARLIER PHASE OF THE CRITICISM EFFORT AND POLITBURO

DECISIONS TO DUMP TENG WOULD THEN BE USED TO INSTILL A SPIRIT OF LEARNING HOW "REACTIONAIRES" SHOULD BE TREATED AND CALLS WOULD BE ISSUED TO REAMIN "VIGILANT," PARTICULARLY SINCE CHAIRMAN MAO'S STRUGGLE DOCTRINE PREDICATES THAT THESE STRUGGLES MUST CONTINUE THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF SOCIALISM. CALLS TO CONSOLIDATE THE GAINS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND TO SUPPORT "SOCIALIST NEWBORN THINGS" AND RETURN TO THE "RESTRICTION/ OF BOURGEOIS RIGHTS EMPHASIS OF EARLY 1975 ARE LIKELY CONCESSIONS TO IDEOLOGICAL ORTHODOXY AS WELL. THE CURRENT WAVE OF ENTHUSIASM AND MASS SUPPORT FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG, UNDER NORMAL PRESCRIPTIONS FOR CHINESE POLITICAL MOVEMENTS, WILL LIKELY ALSO ENVISAGE FURTHER CALLS FOR THE MASSES TO PROMOTE THE EFFORT BY "ACTUAL DEEDS." THIS WE FEEL IS LIKELY TO BE THE BEGINNING OF A CALL TO PROMOTE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION LINKED WITH THE FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN.

5. LEADERSHIP STABILITY: THE NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL DIGNITARIES TO VISIT CHINA WILL BE HIGH DURING THE NEXT TWO MONTHS AND SHOULD PROVIDE US SOME ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS ON THE LEADERSHIP PERSONALITIES WHO ARE BEHIND THE CAMPAIGN'S CURRENT DIRECTION. THE ABSENCE OF THE REGIME'S LEADING IDEOLOGUES SINCE THE POLITBURO DECISIONS WERE ANNOUNCED (HK 4147) COULD BE CORRECTED DURING THAT TIME AND IF SO WOULD GIVE THE DECISIONS AN EVEN GREATER APPEARANCE OF LEGITIMACY AND "UNANIMITY." LEST TOO MANY CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE ABSENCE OF THE IDEOLOGUES LEAD TO AN IMPRESSION THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ABSOLUTE LOSERS IN THIS PHASE OF THE CAMPAIGN, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THEIR ABSENCE PRIOR TO THE PUBLICATION OF RED FLAG ISSUES AND OTHER MAJOR CAMPAIGN PRONOUNCEMENTS HAS BEEN A MATTER OF PAST RECORD. THUS, WE CANNOT RULE OUT THAT THESE INDIVIDUALS ARE INVOLVED IN SIMILAR DRAFTING TASKS NOW, PARTICULARLY WHEN THE SENSITIVITY OF THE SUBJECT AND THE DELICACY OF THE COMPROMISES MAKES EVERY CONFIDENTIAL

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WRITTEN NUANCE MORE SIGNIFICANT. BUT, THEIR FAILURE TO TURN OUT INCREASINGLY SEEMS TO REPRESENT SERIOUS DISATISFACTION WITH THE DECISIONS TAKEN SO FAR.

6. FOR THE PRESENT IT APPEARS THAT THE CONTROL OF THE CAMPAIGN AND THE CONCLUDING OF ITS FIRST ROUND ARE BEING DIRECTED BY A GROUP AT THE CENTER WHICH IS NOT PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH THE FACTIONAL CONTENTIONS BETWEEN THE LEADERSHIP'S EXTREME WINGS. HAVING OVER-RIDDEN THEIR OWN DIVISIONS IN ORDER TO TAKE ACTION AT THE TIME OF THE TIEN AN MEN CRISIS, THIS CENTRIST GROUP IS LIKELY TO TRY AND PRESS FORWARD WITH THAT AGREEMENT TO HAMMER OUT OTHER NECESSARY LEADERSHIP ALIGNMENTS AND APPOINTMENTS. HOWEVER, THE LONGER SUCH DECISIONS ARE LEFT UNRESOLVED, THE MORE LIKELY THE POLICY ISSUE DIVISIONS WHICH SEPARATE THESE LEADERS WILL REASSERT THEMSELVES AS

OBSTACLES TO CONSENSUS. THUS, THE CONTENDING FACTIONS
REPRESENTED IN THE CENTER LEADERSHIP WILL CONTINUE TO EXERT
A DIVISIVE INFLUENCE UPON CHINA'S POLITICAL MACHINE,
AT LEAST UNTIL THE DEATH OF CHAIRMAN MAO.
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